589 return for his foster sister's having been allowed to marry out of the family. While this was probably not the reason he remained single, it [158] did at least make it possible. In another case a man was apparently prevented from marrying by a mental illness. Although he died a number of years before we came to the village, we were told that he was slow of mind "and stood shaking his head when you talked to him." [784] This is said to have been his punishment for making fun of the god Chi [776] Yeh who is always represented in festival parades as a short black- [828] faced deity with the habit of continually wagging his head to and fro. The other two cases involved two brothers whose departure from the normal pattern was almost certainly due to poverty. Although this family has lived in Hsiachichou for a number of generations they have [735] never owned any farm land or even a house site. One of their former [87] neighbors told us that even though he was first in his class the present head of the household was forced to quit school after the fourth grade "because the family couldn't afford the few dollars a year for [54] tuition and books." Although the brothers of these two men did manage to marry, it is significant that one of them had to marry matrilocally.

Of a total of 121 women who grew up in Hsiachichou at least 9 (7 percent) and perhaps 11 (9 percent) did not marry by the time they 588 were thirty years of age. One of the doubtful cases involves a woman by the name of Tan A-giok who was in her mid-forties in 1960. According to several of our informants, Tan A-giok's parents arranged for a man to marry into her family, but he didn't stay "because her mother was always saying things to him. He just couldn't stand it, and so he left

588 and never came back." On the other hand, we heard from several of the family's neighbors that Tan A-giok worked as a prostitute when she was young, and that "they just said that they were married when that man came to live here." Which of these two stories is the best account we cannot say, and it may be that both of them are true. There were several other cases in the village in which prostitution ripened into a matrilocal marriage, and it is quite possible that Tan A-giok later married this man even though this was not his original reason for coming to live with her. The case of a woman by the name of Ong Cui-kim is even more difficult because it involves a disagreement among the villagers themselves as to what constitutes a marriage. Some [585] feel that Ong Ciu-kim was married because her mother accepted a bride price and because she lived with the man, while others argue that the ceremony was never completed and that "they just lived together." What happened was best described to us by a neighbor:

> "Ong Cui-kim used to live with a man who still lives in Wanhua. They met each other there because she used to work there. Her three children are all his. He told me all about it. He said he used to like another girl from this village, and once in the factory he whistled to attract her attention, but Ong Cui-kim turned around instead. That was the beginning of their friendship. He was going to marry her, and he even bought all of the engagement cakes. Ong Cui-kim was pregnant by then, and her mother only asked for NT$1200 for the bride price. The problem was that Ong Cui-kim was adopted to marry her foster brother and was still registered with the police as his wife. Someone told him that he could get some money too if she married, and so the night before the engagement he went and asked the boy to give him NT$1200 also. The next day when the boy came with the engagement cakes he demanded the money. The boy was angry and refused. He just sold all the cakes right here in the village and very cheaply. Everyone had a good time!

• 588 After that he came and got Ong Cui-kin to live with him for a few months, but she didn't like her mother-in-law and came back here frequently. All three of her children were born here and not at his house. The last time she came home she just didn't return. The reason was that her mother-in-law loaned her some gold jewelry to wear to a festival in our village. Then the mother-in-law got to thinking that she might run away with the jewelry, so she hurried down here and took it back. Ong Cui-kin would never go back to their house after that."

587 [132] Of the nine women who clearly did not marry by their thirtieth year one is a deaf mute. Her family has tried to arrange a marriage for her, but have been unable to find anyone willing to accept such [584] a girl as a daughter-in-law. Another case is that of Ong A-chiou who refused to marry her foster brother but remained living with her foster family anyway. As she is a relatively young woman, she may 595 still marry, although she herself thinks this unlikely. A third case 573 involves a young woman named Ong Chun-mui whose foster parents coerced 589 her into living with a village man who was for a long time the hegemon of a number of village gangs operating in the Hsulin area. Ong Chun-mui herself told us that when this man first approached her she was afraid of him "because he was a well-known gang leader and had many girlfriends, and I was afraid that he would beat me if I did anything he didn't like." But her parents were pleased with the prospect of such an alliance, and eventually asked the man to come and live in their house. As Ong Chun-mui explained, "He could make very good money, and [505] he helped our family a lot. He bought a boat for my father so he could work ferrying people across the river, and during the first year he lived here he spent a lot of money because both my grandmother and grandfather died that year and he paid for their funerals." Despite

659 maximize the possibility of retaining their land. In
183 summary there is both under-registration and over-
217 registration and although the absolute number of people by actual residence and official records is quite similar, they differ considerably in specific characteristics. Total Sanlei errors are similar to these found in a sample survey of a community north of Taipei: 11% registered but not living in the community and 5% living in the community without registering (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:17).

217 Information regarding individuals is also frequently
183 inaccurate; the categories of education and occupation are
• 588 the most misleading. Birth and death records are quite
[127] good. Marriages are official only if recorded, but several common-law marriages have been recognized by participants and fellow villagers although the couple are only listed as "living together" in the official records. Common-law marriages may be legalized eventually, in one case after 13 years. In one extreme case a "Liao" separated from his wife who still lives in a nearby village. He has been living with a different woman in Sanlei Ts'un for the past 23 years and they are listed in the records as just living together. They have six children, each registered under the woman's surname with the space for father's name left blank. About two to three months after birth, the man officially adopted each child, changing the surname to Liao. Practically, the couple behave as if

217 married, are so considered by villagers, and the unit con-
183 stitutes a family in village affairs even if not officially
588 registered. In this example, the couple claim that it is less onerous to live together and adopt the children than to obtain a divorce and remarry because marriage to someone who is divorced is negatively evaluated. (The way I first learned of two of the three cases of marriage where one partner had been divorced was through a check of official records.) Although the man said it was not a factor, the fact that the brother of the first wife was the sworn brother of the man in the example cited above may have been important. I was not able to obtain agreement about the significance of this point.

125 In the discussion to follow, the actual residence
591 patterns based on the field census are used rather than official records. A family is included in the village if a majority of its members sleep in the village a majority of the time. A family officially registered as divided but in fact living and cooking together as a single unit is counted as a single unit (one case). Conversely, a family which had not divided officially but was living and eating separately in two or more units was counted as more than one unit (two cases). An individual is considered a resident if he regards Sanlei as his home and he sleeps in the village at least one night per week. Thus, a girl who works in a factory and sleeps in a dormitory but usually

584 make the decision because he had more experience. The boy had previously rejected two other girls by politely pointing out possible faults. The boy and his father did not openly discuss the boy's role in determining the marriage, but that evening the father told me that if the young couple later had trouble the son could not blame him for making a poor choice as he had played a part in the selection of the bride. I also observed two similar visits to a village girl's home and the conversation which followed; [118] one suitor was rejected and the other accepted. This form has always been present in Chinese culture but in the modern period has supplanted in frequency the arranged form.

The final form which we are calling a "love marriage" is increasing the most rapidly in frequency. It is simply the self-selection of mates. Often, the engagement and wedding are legitimized in traditional terms by employing a matchmaker to carry on negotiations and arrangements as if the decision had not already been made. Among the oldest generation still living in the village, there seemed to have been only one true "love marriage" that was opposed by parents. The couple registered the marriage with the Japanese police and ran off to the mountains to live and did not return until after the girl was obviously pregnant. [588] The term, "love marriage," could also be applied to common-law marriages and many remarriages, especially among couples who marry rather late in life.

593 virtual stranger. A. P. Wolf is a notable exception
583 (1968). He reports that chao fu husbands are often pampered in their new homes, a behavior pattern also common in Sanlei because of the fear the man will leave. For Sanlei, in 1 of 4 marriages, it is the male who must adjust to the female's household with her father usually the effective head.

Siaosiv (Adopted Daughter Marriage)

584 Of the 94 marriages under consideration, twelve
597 (12.8%) were the type discussed by Fei (1939:53) as the siaosiv marriage and elaborated by Lang (1946:127) and Gallin (1966:163-6). In brief, for Sanlei, the parents of a boy adopt a female baby three to ten years (average seven) after the birth of a boy and raise them as brother and sister. With about six months notice, when the girl
[585] is 18 or 19, the couple are married. There are rarely parties or any significant wedding ceremony as merely "putting the shoes under the bed," or "pushing them together." (see Glossary C). The first phrase is also asso-
554 ciated with common-law marriages and the remarriage of
587 widows or divorcees. These marriage types all share in
588 common a relatively low status in the village value system.

Under normal circumstances, a wedding is a gay
585 occasion with a big dinner, many guests, etc. The affair lasts most of a full day with the newly-weds as the center